

The balance of power between the Global North and Global South: A case study of grant funding to Sub-Saharan Africa by a U.S.-based non-profit

By

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Abstract

The global nonprofit sector is vast and growing. Worldwide, nonprofit or nongovernmental organizations exist to address a multitude of needs or provide a multitude of services. Their existence is necessitated by unfortunate situations in which needs are not being met and services are not being provided by the state or other institutions that would normally fill that role. These organizations typically rely on funding from donors in order to carry out their stated mission. To attract and retain donors, these organizations must provide a compelling reason for contributing. Historically, funding patterns and organizational methods have focused on alleviating needs in the Global South, perpetuating the idea that countries in the Global North must in some way come to the rescue. This creates the impression that recipient organizations in the Global South are without agency, and are unable to meet their own needs or design their own solutions to the problems that they do realistically face. Arguing for a rethinking of this assumption, this thesis explores the question of agency among donor recipients in the Global South. Findings from the study point to the need to change the conversation about the balance of power between Northern and Southern-based NGOs.

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Chapter I: Introduction

*“There’s a world outside your window
And it’s a world of dread and fear
Where the only water flowing is the bitter sting of tears
And the Christmas bells that ring there
Are the clanging chimes of doom
Well tonight thank God it’s them instead of you
And there won’t be snow in Africa this Christmas time.
The greatest gift they’ll get this year is life.
Oh, where nothing ever grows, no rain or rivers flow,
Do they know it’s Christmastime at all?”*

In 1984, inspired by television reports and images of starvation as a result of famine in Ethiopia, musician/song-writers Bob Geldof and Midge Ure wrote a song that became the biggest selling single in UK history at the time, and remains a staple of radio DJs’ Christmas playlists even to this day: “Do They Know It’s Christmas.” The goal of the song, performed by the “charity supergroup” Band Aid, was to raise money for famine relief, which it did, raising more than \$24 million dollars. However it also contributed to a way of thinking that is still being perpetuated 30 years later (the song was rereleased in 2014 with reworked lyrics in order to raise money for efforts centered on the outbreak of the Ebola Virus in West Africa). Africans, hundreds of millions of people living on a huge continent made up of 54 different countries, are reduced to “they” within the song’s lyrics, living in misery, unaware of the date on the calendar. Individuals in the West (or the Global North) must come to the rescue.

It should be noted here that the Global North, for the purposes of this paper, consists of the countries of Western Europe, North America, and Australia and New Zealand (Slater, 2004). Perhaps the motivation behind the song came from a movement that began in the 1970s, when literature emphasized the role the Global North should play in helping to develop the Global South and pushed a view that the haves should help the have nots (Pratt, 1990). That view

pushed the idea that the Global North must share their resources, skills, and know-how with the Global South; must “feed the world, and let them know it’s Christmastime.” That view upheld the idea that the powerful Global North must find effective ways to raise funds for the organizations it has created to assist those in the Global South, because those in the Global South are disempowered, without agency, and unable to come up with their own viable solutions for development. The Global North seems to project itself as the entity with power over the Global South, as the states in the Global North are the ones providing aid, and, additionally, they are the states that historically dominated the others (Slater, 2004). But is that really the case? For example, in 2012, U.S.-based National Public Radio (NPR) reported on a group of students from South Africa who partnered with an aid agency in Norway to challenge the stereotypes surrounding Africa: “a continent riddled with conflict, disease, corruption, poverty, and brutal dictatorships needing rescue from developed nations” (Lennon, 2012: web). The group’s ultimate goal centered on shining a light on the reality the impact the Global North has on the Global South, and to start a conversation about the truth behind North/South power relationships as they exist in the present – whether those relationships are being accurately portrayed and whether the degree of agency within both entities is more equal than widely believed. This thesis will attempt to determine if the examination of a U.S.-based nonprofit with Chapters located in both the Global North and Global South provides any insight as to whether or not the balance of power is shifting, and whether the Global South might indeed possess a degree of power, or in other words agency, that is higher than is generally imagined. Obviously the examination of only one nonprofit will not allow for a definitive answer, yet it is a good starting point for the larger question.

While songs such as the one referenced above continue to contribute to shaping the attitudes of the Global North, there is emerging evidence that its rhetoric – questionable as it may have been at the time – is becoming increasingly incorrect. According to the 2013 Human Development Report, published by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the “Rise of [the] South” is “transforming [the] global power balance” (UNDP, 2013: web). The report goes on to talk about the way growth in the South paves the way for collaborations with the North, and points out that the South is “driving global economic growth and societal change for the first time in centuries” (UNDP, 2013: web). Yet criticism related to the agendas of Northern-based organizations designed to drive societal change persists, and the tone of that criticism often underscores the sentiment that the Global North wields the power, using it to influence the Global South, “and especially developing societies to further their [the Global North] ideological, political, and economic agendas (Kumar, 2011: p. 45).

Today, according to the *Yearbook of International Organizations*, there are some 67,000 international non-profit organizations in the world, working outside states and governments to advance a cause. This is attributed to many factors, including decolonization, globalization, advances in technology, and a change in the number and types of conflicts occurring worldwide, and the general sense that the Global North has a duty to level the inequality that exists in comparison to the Global South (Slater, 2004). These organizations are referred to using different terms such as “nonprofit,” “voluntary,” “civil society,” or “independent,” yet they share similar features in that they have an institutional presence and structure, they are separate from the state, they do not return profits to shareholders or owners, they are self-governing, and membership in them is voluntary (Salamon, Anheier: 1999). It is accepted that these types of organizations now exist, with a wide range of scope, in both the Global North and Global South,

yet it remains true that “Southern NGOs often include Northern NGOs as their funders” (Ebrahim, 2003: pg. 200).

On September 11, 1956, President Dwight D. Eisenhower gave a speech announcing the establishment of the People to People Program – a program designed to “enhance international relationships through education, the exchange of culture, and humanitarian activities,” (Mission and Vision, www.ptpi.org, 2015)” to serve the overall goal of bringing about peace in the face of the Cold War. During a 1959 radio broadcast with Prime Minister Macmillan in London, President Eisenhower stated, “I like to believe that people in the long run are going to do more to promote peace than our governments. Indeed, I think that people want peace so much that one of these days governments had better get out of the way and let them have it.” This statement illustrates the thinking behind the mission of PTPI – that people, on their own and through their own efforts, are better positioned to bring about peace than governments, and should do so in a sphere outside of the realm of government. The program was eventually moved into the private sector and incorporated as a non-profit/non-governmental association (NGO) under the name People to People International (PTPI). This privatization was enacted in order to ensure that the program continued after Eisenhower left office.

At the time of PTPI’s formation, the number of international, non-profit organizations numbered roughly 2,000 (Boli and Thomas, 1997). Although PTPI refers to itself as an international nonprofit, this study is not interested in an exploration of the management and leadership of the organization, which is the focus of much of the existing literature on the subject of international nonprofits; rather it explores how PTPI functions as a civil society organization (CSO) within Africa and the relationship between the organizational headquarters and its African members. Civil society as it is defined and discussed is the most relevant description of PTPI and

its growing presence and in Sub-Saharan Africa. For the purposes of this study, civil society is defined as “an aggregate of institutions whose members are engaged primarily in a complex of non-state activities – economic and cultural production, voluntary associations, and household life – and who in this way preserve and transform their identity by exercising all sorts of pressures or controls upon state institutions” (Makumbe, 1998: p. 305). The subject of civil society within much of the existing literature links it with the growth of democracy. This thesis will focus instead on civil society as a space in which individuals can voluntarily take part in activities that they view as needed for the improvement of their community, which is why the definition as outlined as Makumbe is the most relevant to this thesis.

PTPI and the organizations similar to it have been criticized for creating dependence on foreign international donors for support and sustainment (Makumbe, 1998; Kelley, 2011). This dependence means that foreign donors can exert influence on the agenda and activities of the organizations they support from afar, and dependence prevents the attainment of genuine self-reliance. Another issue raised is that “foreign donor agencies are not accountable to the local communities with which they work” (Makumbe, 1998: p. 315). Rather, they are accountable to those who they work with at home, who provide the financial support that sustains the organization. A third critique of CSO growth is that available financial support turns the CSO into a potential source of profit, subverting the intended goal (Obadare, *Revalorizing the Political: Towards a New Intellectual Agenda for African Civil Society Discourse*, 2011). These critiques validate an assumption that in the relationships between the Global North and Global South, it is the Global North that wields the power. This assumption is worth exploring.

The belief that people create peace faster than governments is the type of rationale that can help to fuel the growth of civil society, and this rationale is likely to resonate more strongly

in countries where individuals have witnessed and/or live with state failure in areas such as peacekeeping, education, and social welfare. This has certainly been the case in many African countries. The colonization of Africa led to the destruction of many existing community structures. By undermining community structures, colonial rulers hoped to eliminate any threat of organized political resistance. Many African peoples therefore created non-political community-based organizations, such as burial societies, yet these eventually grew to spaces that allowed for the expression of political demands, and contributed to the end of colonial rule. Growth in civil society has certainly revolved around political issues. However there has also been an explosion in CSOs focused on other social issues that are not being addressed by the state (Kelley, 2011).

PTPI is a voluntary membership organization, and members belong either to an international network of Chapters, or are considered at-large members. This thesis will focus on the PTPI's Global Chapter Network. During March 2015, this network consisted of 264 Chapters in 67 countries. At its conception, PTPI's strongest presence was in the United States and Western Europe. Today, however, a majority of the interest in new Chapter formation is coming from Sub-Saharan Africa, and a number of PTPI's most active Chapters are located in Sub-Saharan Africa. Is there a reason that PTPI is more appealing to individuals in Africa? Do the individuals creating and joining PTPI Chapters in Africa view the organization as a means to accomplish activities that are not being accomplished by the state? Are individuals in Africa drawn to the organization mainly because of the opportunities for funding that are provided? And do PTPI's African Chapters influence the organization in any way – do they wield a degree of power – that is to say, do they demonstrate a capacity for influencing and creating change that is more significant than may be attributed to them? This thesis will seek to determine the answers

to those questions. Modern literature is beginning to explore the possibility that ways of thinking about power structures should be challenged. Globalization has brought about advances that allow the Global South to participate more fully in international relations, and perhaps it is time that the question of power should be redefined (Beck, 2005).

PTPI Chapters are tasked with bringing the ideals of the organization – global education, increased cultural understanding (via interacting with individuals of other cultures), and humanitarianism – to life at the local level. Chapters are classified as either Student or Community Chapters, are required to maintain a membership roster of at least 10, and must annually elect officers to at least four positions. Individuals seeking to start a Chapter must provide membership documentation, return signed bylaws, and develop a plan for Chapter activities before they are approved and receive an official Chapter Charter¹. Essentially, PTPI encourages its Chapters to educate themselves on sources of conflict in their communities, particularly those related to cultural misunderstanding, and to develop solutions that will contribute to peace building. Grant funding is available to PTPI Chapters twice per year, to Chapters that show a successful track record of project completion. Grant applications require a description of the project the Chapter is seeking to fund, and a description of the problem or need the project will address.

PTPI Chapters currently exist in 13 Sub-Saharan African countries, with the largest number located in West Africa. These are a mix of Student and Community Chapters, however on the whole there are more Community Chapters. There is a fairly high level of autonomy granted to PTPI Chapters, so mission interpretation and subsequent implementation therefore varies from Chapter to Chapter. Regional similarities emerge, however, and PTPI Chapters in

¹ See Appendix for a copy of the official PTPI Chapter Charter

Africa tend to be centered on humanitarian activities and education. For example, an ongoing project developed by the Lome, Togo Chapter involves the rebuilding of a local school that was destroyed by a storm. The Chapter used cinder blocks to build sturdier walls for the students (the school room previously consisted of only a roof and basic support beams), and are continually working on additional improvements. They also return annually to the school to distribute school supplies. Their work has attracted the attention and support of other CSOs working in the region, including the United Nations. These organizations have contributed their resources in support of the Chapter's activities, enabling them to do more. PTPI World Headquarters often cites this Chapter project as a successful example of mission fulfillment.

Another example is the Kumasi, Ghana Chapter. Members of the Chapter conceived of a project that they plan to carry out over a period of three years. It revolves around supplementing state-sponsored Information and Communication Technology (ICT) education. Their rationale is as follows: "Our Chapter executives realized that Ghana recently started a Basic Education Certificate Examination in ICT but even now, some students have not seen or touched a computer before. So we agreed to make an impact on the younger generation by sharing our knowledge and experience with ICT." The Chapter purchased used computer equipment for the local school and members are volunteering as ICT teachers, seeking to fill a gap in the national education system. Again, PTPI refers to this Chapter project as a highlight among organizational achievements.

Both of these Chapters applied for and received grant funding from PTPI for these projects. The most recent grant application deadline was February 1, 2015. Out of a total of 24 applications submitted, eight were submitted by Chapters in Africa. Data related to grant application and funding will be referenced in the methods section of this paper. A significant

level of difference is observed within the types of projects that Chapters are applying for funding to carry out. The mission of PTPI is relatively vague and leaves room for interpretation in terms of how it is to be implemented. Instructions to Chapters applying for grant funding states that “PTPI encourages Chapters to develop projects that will make a significant and lasting impact” and that the grants “support projects that exemplify the mission of PTPI: to offer multinational experiences that foster cross cultural learning, develop global leadership skills, and connect with an international network of people committed to making a positive difference in the world.”

In reviewing the project descriptions submitted by applicant Chapters, it becomes clear that African PTPI Chapters tend to focus on projects that fill a social gap – they seek to provide services that are not being provided by the state. In contrast, Chapters in other regions do not show this tendency. For example, a recent grant to a Chapter in Sheboygan, Wisconsin USA helped the Chapter cover transportation costs for a teacher from Egypt. The Chapter had facilitated a two-year classroom exchange between students in Egypt and students in Sheboygan, and the teacher’s visit was a continuation of the cross-cultural learning experience. Another example is a grant provided to a Chapter in Inverell, Australia. The Chapter hosted a multi-cultural day for their community, to develop greater understanding between the many citizens of different nationalities who have recently relocated to that city. All Chapters are asked to submit reports and photos upon project completion. The reports and photos serve as a way to verify that grant funding is being used for its intended purpose, and to generate data for PTPI to use to verify results of funding. When Chapters apply for funding on multiple occasions, adherence to the reporting policy is taken into account. If Chapters have failed to submit grant reports, they are less likely to receive additional funding.

As noted earlier, questions have arisen over the legitimacy of CSOs as a whole: in relation to whether they actually deliver development, how they acquire funding, whether funding sources impact how money is used, etc. CSOs are therefore likely to seek ways to demonstrate accountability and results, to better ensure their continuation and future growth. PTPI is no different; the organization must show donors and potential donors a tangible result, and provide a reason for giving. Chapter Project Grants are a tool with which PTPI can do both, and the grant reports and photos are shared with the public, shaping the perception of the organization for both members and the public alike. Therefore, as PTPI touts the successes of its Chapters in Africa, it is increasingly touting humanitarian/service work. Yet within the stated vision and purpose of PTPI, humanitarian/service work is not significantly emphasized:

Our Vision: It is our vision that a cross-cultural network of engaged and knowledgeable everyday citizen leaders will be an active force in creating and sustaining a more peaceful world.

Our Purpose: The purpose of People to People International is to create lasting cross-cultural connections between everyday citizens around the world to help them explore global issues, serve and enrich their diverse communities, and become more effective leaders in creating a more peaceful world.

It seems reasonable to suggest that PTPI's Chapters in Africa are subtly causing the organization to shift away from its mission and that a degree of power thereby lies in the Global South. Using PTPI Chapters in Africa and their self-reported Chapter project grant applications as a case study, I examine the accuracy of the assumption that organizations in the Global North have a higher degree of agency and therefore retain a type of neo-colonial level of power over the powerless Global South.

Chapter II: Literature Review

The term “civil society” is not new (in fact it has been suggested that it may be as old as religion) yet the way it is defined and used has changed over time, and debate continues over an accurate definition (Florini & Simmons, 2000). The understanding of the term as outlined by philosophers such as Hegel, Gramsci, Tocqueville, and Marx is still relevant and shapes the definition of the term as it is used today (Keane, 1998; Makumbe, 1998; Obadare, 2011; Orvis, 2001). Those philosophies are then further divided into two categories of traditions - liberal and alternative – and the major difference between the two pertains to the relationship between civil society and the state; whether civil society supports or opposes the state. In the 20th century, Antonio Gramsci proposed that civil society can be used in multiple ways, including supporting or opposing the state (Bukenya & Hickey, 2014). This historical perspective provides a foundation for the understanding that civil society is separate from the state; that it is a separate space that includes a wide variety of organizations and associations that exist for a wide variety of reasons (Kew & Oshikoya, 2014). Studies of civil society in Africa often focus on the definition as it applies to Africa, and the effectiveness of civil society in bringing about change within African states (Hearn, 2001; Lehman, 2008; Makumbe, 1998; Orvis, 2001). Questions have also been raised over the motivation for involvement with CSOs within African states (Obadare, 2011). There is debate over whether nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and nonprofits in Africa should be included in the definition of civil society, which is the view I have taken in this thesis (Igoe & Kelsall, 2005; Obadare, 2011). As it stands, NGOs and nonprofits are included in many widely-accepted definitions of civil society (Salamon, Anheier, & Associates, 1999). PTPI is a nonprofit organization with existing Chapters in Africa. I will therefore refer to NGOs as CSOs, and to members of PTPI Chapters as part of civil society in Africa.

Additionally, I will refer to the states in Africa as being part of the Global South, and to the United States as being part of the Global North. I will also operate from the seemingly globally-held opinion that the Global North holds the majority of the power in terms of setting the standard for how CSOs in the Global South should best be organized and operated. When I use the term power, I refer to agency, or a higher capacity to create change due to the possession of skillsets, resources, and knowledge.

The proliferation of civil society is aided by advances in communication technologies and growing numbers of educated middle class individuals who seek a means for expression (Salamon, Anheier, & Associates, 1999). Nonprofit CSOs grew in number following WWII, and again in the 1980s (Watkins, Swidler, & Hannan, 2012). The number of transnationally-organized CSOs grew from 1,000 to 20,000 in the 50 years after WWII, and within those groups is a subset whose mission is related to social change (Smith & Wiest, 2005). The view that they are better able to bring about development and social change grew as their numbers grew (Watkins, Swidler, & Hannan, 2012). The sector contributes to economic as well as social life, creating jobs and providing incomes while also creating a space for community gathering and providing a sense of purpose and accomplishment (Salamon, Anheier, & Associates, 1999).

The rise in numbers of CSOs after WWII correlates with a rise in the level of aid provided to countries determined to be in need of development assistance. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Trade Organization were also developed during this time, and they were viewed as successfully achieving their original goal of assisting Europe with post-war rebuilding. Therefore it seemed logical to try the method on another region of the world: Africa (Moyo, 2009). For a variety of reasons that have been widely researched and debated and are not the focus of this thesis, post-colonial rebuilding has not been

viewed as a success in Africa, and a plethora of economic, political, and social problems persist (Obadare, 2008). Arrighi notes, however, that Africa has the additional challenge of having “inherited from the pre-colonial and colonial eras a political-economic configuration that left little room for the construction of viable national economies or robust national states” (Arrighi, 2002). The reality in many African states is that a functioning public sector does not exist (Cannon, 1996). The state is also often viewed as a barrier to development, with terms such as “rent-seeker,” “unaccountable to society,” and “unresponsive to societal needs” being used as descriptors (Bukonya & Hickey, 2014: pg. 314). CSOs therefore attempt to fill the shoes of the inadequate state (Thompson, 1999).

The concept of individuals coming together to make improvements to their community is not new to Africa, yet there is a general sense in the literature that modern civil society in Africa has unique characteristics (Obadare, 2011). Makumbe has argued that “the African experience of civil society is largely focused on the people’s struggle against despotic rulers, repressive regimes and governments that have violated both their individual and their collective rights” (Makumbe, 1998). This thesis will operate from the point of view that a well-functioning public sector is not the norm in many African states (Cannon, 1996). The ineffectiveness of the state in that arena leads Jackson to the perspective that the welfare of the state and the improvement of its condition can best be served by ‘non-state’ actors (Jackson, 2005). So on one end of the spectrum, CSOs can be seen as a tool for advancing an agenda of privatisation that ultimately undermines the state (Cannon, 1996). On the other end, it may be viewed more innocently, that CSOs provide an opportunity to effect change, meet needs, take control of one’s own life and environment, and give the state time to organize to a point where services are provided by the state rather than outside CSOs (Cannon, 1996; Kerr, 1978; Bukonya & Hickey, 2014). At the

heart of the discussion of this paper, however, is the that the Global North has traditionally been seen to dictate the way in which the failures of the state should be rectified; that the North must intervene “from ‘the top’ in the affairs of the South [which are] at ‘the bottom’” (Challinor, 2005: pg. 225-226)

Criticism of international CSOs working in Africa at both the macro and micro-level is common and wide-ranging. This is fairly understandable, given the fact that Africa’s development has not been markedly improved by the many organizations working to do so, and the vast sums of aid money being spent, which totals more than \$2 trillion USD over the last 50 years (Moyo, 2009). So it has been well-established that a vast amount of resources exist. Yet it has become evident that both donor governments and agencies such as the World Bank are turning away from the African state (Atampugre, 1997). The reduction in resources leads to fiercer competition for those resources, again at both the macro and micro-level. The formation of a CSO can therefore serve as a vehicle for competition. Jackson quotes an individual involved with NGO work in DR Congo:

“Take UNHCR for example: If HCR has some seed to distribute, then some guys will create an association so that they can become distributors of this aid. Because FHI [Food for the Hungry International] has seed to distribute, or FAO [the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation] has seed to distribute, because Agro Action Allemande has seed to distribute, there are organisations like this that spring up at any particular moment...but a program for development, a work plan, an office, they don’t have any of these things. There will probably be state agents involved. If the state is not paying them, then now, in order to get access to the international donors, they create development NGOs...” (Jackson, 2005: pg. 179).

This quote propagates the idea that CSOs in Africa are wholly dependent on the decision-making processes in the Global North, yet it also indicates that CSOs in the Global South have found ways to circumvent the power balance and solve their needs, in their own way.

As CSOs compete for funding, they must become savvy in regards to what will effectively motivate donors and cause them to give. Effective fundraisers know that they must craft their messaging in a way that communicates the consequences of donating or not donating, and also creates confidence in the likelihood that the stated goal will be obtained with the help of donations (Das, Kerkhof, & Kuiper, 2008). Donors want to feel that they have made an impact, and that their donated funds were well spent. The more evidence that CSOs can provide to further shore up confidence in donors, the better. This savviness is necessary for CSO staff and members alike (Eliasoph, 2014). The phrase “darling of the donors” is used by Igoe and Kelsall to describe individuals or groups within Africa who have successfully positioned themselves to be on the receiving end of donor funds (Igoe & Kelsall, 2005). Challinor provides further evidence of a sophisticated understanding within Africa of how to successfully manipulate the often changing trends among international donors, quoting a speech by an NGO president in Cape Verde in 1997:

“There have been many changes in the last ten years. With the fall of the Berlin wall aid is now going elsewhere and no longer to Africa. This is because independence in the 1960s for African countries has already been achieved. Fifteen years later they said we did not deserve so much support – enough is enough. So Africans were clever and said ‘OK, we’ll convert to democracy.’ Europe considered this to be Africa’s second independence. Now thirty years have gone by – what reason can we give? The reason now is giving voice to the people: women, children, the disabled, peasants, rural populations,

micro entrepreneurs. The target group is now local communities and social groups” (Challinor, 2005: pg. 223).

Clearly, as this quote demonstrates, ownership of savviness related to how to effectively obtain funding does not reside solely in the Global North.

Obadare uses slightly different vocabulary to describe the same concept related to savviness within Africa and the manipulation of CSOs by those who are creating them: he writes of “civil society entrepreneurs” who are “only ‘in the business’ to line their pockets,” and puts forth the view that civil society in Africa as a whole is “imbricated in the existing culture of patronage” (Obadare, 2011: pg. 6).

Other critics focus less on methods for obtaining funds and more on the actual achievement of stated goals. Small-scale efforts are now being seen as more effective, with simplicity, active involvement of aid providers, resilience, and indigenous involvement being labeled as key ingredients for success (Paganelli, 2009). Micro-level initiatives such as micro-financing and community development have been the subject of much recent attention and the recipient of a great deal of donor funding (Heller & Badding, 2012). The criticism in this area centers on the fact that though community development should, in theory, be achievable without external assistance, the needed resources are so often internally lacking that communities are forced to rely on external assistance for major projects (Kishindo, 2003). Even in situations designed to eventually transition toward sustainment without external support, doing so frequently proves impossible and a new source of external support must be found or the initiative ceases (Atampugre, 1997). The risk here, as Cannon points out, is that “although the activities of a single NGO may not significantly undermine the government, every NGO is part of a system which may do so” (Cannon, 1996). Therefore, CSOs involved in supporting or facilitating

service provision may be inadvertently undermining effective state building (Bukonya & Hickey, 2014). They are giving the state an out, eliminating a need for the state to find ways to effectively function.

It is possible to classify CSOs within Africa in a number of ways. One would be to categorize where the organization developed: CSOs based in the Global North, CSOs based in Africa yet dependent on funding from north-based CSO partners, and community-based organizations with roots in traditional social groupings (Mabogunje, 2007). Another set of categories focuses on the function of CSOs: those that provide services, those that focus on competency and capacity building, and those that advocate, and those that perform a watchdog function (Fowler, 2014). Perhaps most important is simply distinguishing between those that originated and are located on the continent of Africa, and those that are of the continent – with branches or Chapters there, but with headquarters and financing located elsewhere (Fowler, 2014). PTPI is of the continent, with headquarters in the United States and Chapters in Africa and other regions. Using this distinction, it is possible to examine the proliferation of Western-funded CSOs in Africa in a different light: looking at the dynamics of the relationship between funders and recipients. (Rauh, 2010)

PTPI and similar CSOs must demonstrate that they are satisfying the needs and wants of their stated beneficiary population, and they must also satisfy the needs and wants of their donors (Rauh, 2010). Donor funding is not a given and donors control whether or not they will choose whether to continue provide financial support (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007). As such, donor beneficiaries stand to lose funding if donors are not motivated to continue donating (Markowitz & Tice, 2002). This can create a situation where CSOs shift their focus to that which will be most likely to elicit donor contributions (Edwards & Hulme, 1996). It also contributes to

a general sense that power resides in the Global North, in that it appears that the Global North is where all decision making takes place (Robb, 2004). Yet it is worth considering how in reality, CSO beneficiaries in the Global South actually possess a greater degree of power. Through a case study analysis of grant applications submitted by PTPI Chapters in Africa, this thesis seeks to better understand how power in the Global South is demonstrated and whether a significant degree of agency exists.

Chapter III: Methods

In order to better understand how power in the Global South is demonstrated and used, this study looked at submitted grant applications in order to analyze, as case studies, the types of projects for which PTPI Chapters in Africa submit applications for grant funding. My hypothesis is that evidence exists that will show that members of the Global South do indeed demonstrate an ability to influence CSO activity, which equates to a significant level of agency or power. The data used is both quantitative and qualitative, as it combines case studies of grant applications submitted by PTPI Chapters in Africa and data related to grant funding that has been provided by PTPI. To provide a background and present-day overview of PTPI Chapter presence in Africa, it also used a combination of data that is recorded by PTPI, and self-reported data submitted to PTPI by members of PTPI Chapters in Africa. As a staff member at PTPI, I have access to and permission to use this data (see Appendix A). Since I serve as the Director of PTPI's Global Chapter Network, I have also included information and data gathered through personal communication with Chapter members.

Organizational data was accessed first, for a background and overview. When a PTPI Chapter is formed, the founding Chapter officers must submit a Chapter Charter application. If the application is approved, it is signed and dated by the Chief Executive Officer of PTPI, and that date is recorded as the official charter date of the Chapter. The naming system for Chapters consists of using the city and country where the Chapter is located (for Chapters outside of the United States). So, for example, if an application is received from Dakar, Senegal, the official Chapter Charter will state that PTPI's Dakar, Senegal Chapter has been created. When a Chapter is closed, the President of the Chapter is sent an official letter stating that it is being closed, and the date of the letter is recorded as the official closing date. Therefore, the organizational data

used included the dates that PTPI Chapters were chartered, the date that Chapters were closed (if applicable), and the city and country location of each Chapter. The historical data helped to demonstrate the relative newness of PTPI's presence in Africa, and the small proportion of chapters in Africa as compared to other regions.

Table 1

PTPI Chapters by Region Since Inception	
Region	Number of PTPI Chapters
<i>Africa</i>	43
<i>Americas</i>	283
<i>Asia-Pacific</i>	175
<i>Europe</i>	152
<i>Middle East</i>	26

Table 2

PTPI Chapters by Region as of March, 2015

Region	Countries with PTPI	Number of PTPI	Number of Chapter
	Chapters	Chapters	Members
<i>Africa</i>	15	20	447
<i>Americas</i>	6	65	1982
<i>Asia-Pacific</i>	12	114	1099
<i>Europe</i>	28	64	1563
<i>Middle East</i>	6	10	229

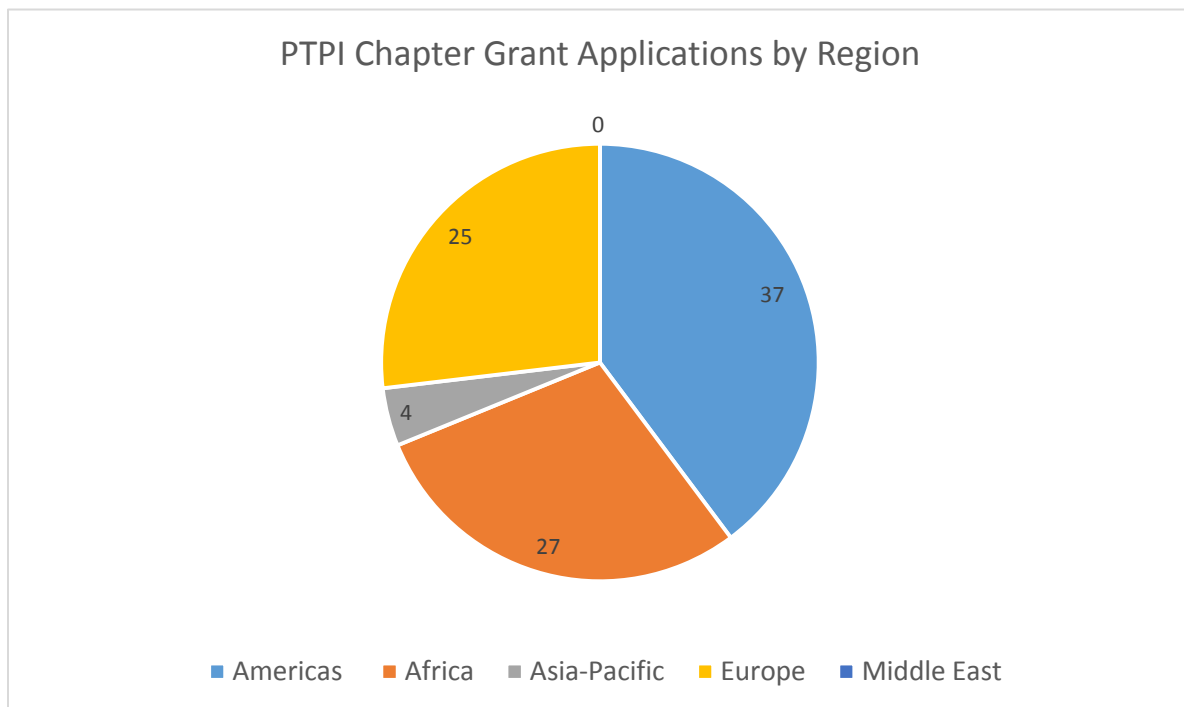
Table 3

All PTPI Chapters Chartered in Africa by Year and Country

Year	Location of Chartered Chapters
1956 – 1999	n/a
2000	South Africa
2001	Ghana
2002	Kenya, Ghana
2003	Nigeria
2004	Uganda
2005	Sierra Leone
2006	Uganda
2007	Sierra Leone, South Africa, Uganda (2)
2008	Kenya (2), Rwanda, Uganda (2)
2009	Ghana, Malawi, Senegal, Togo
2010	Benin, Cameroon, Ghana, Niger (2)
2011	Mauritania, Rwanda (3)
2012	n/a
2013	Liberia
2014	Nigeria, Zambia
2015	Sierra Leone

Next I used data related to the total number of grant applications that have been submitted by Chapters in total, to determine if there are any trends related to region. Beginning in fall 2013, PTPI began accepting applications for Chapter Project Grants on a bi-annual basis. PTPI grants are intended “to support projects that exemplify the mission of PTPI: to offer multinational experiences that foster cross cultural learning, develop global leadership skills, and connect with an international network of people committed to making a positive difference in the world.” In order to apply for grants Chapters must complete and submit an application form. The grants are publicized to all regions equally. Since the grant program was implemented, a total of 93 applications including project descriptions have been received from Chapters in all regions. A total of 27 of those applications were submitted by Chapters in Africa. See Chart 1 for breakdown in the percentage of applications that were submitted by Chapters in all regions.

Chart 1



Then I looked at the amount of grant funding that has been provided by PTPI, to all Chapters and to Chapters in Africa specifically (See Chart 2). I also looked at the data on which projects were funded fully, partially, or not at all, and from there, examined the types of project compared to the level of funding provided. (See Tables 4 and 5). Grants are provided in amounts up to \$2,500. Chapters are asked to outline the total project cost, state the amount being requested, and list other sources of funding (if applicable). Chapters may apply for more than one grant at a time, and there is no limit to the amount of times applications may be submitted. A grant review committee consisting of three PTPI staff members evaluates the applications and makes funding decisions. Historically, a total of \$25,000 has been budgeted for grant funding for each deadline, meaning a total of \$50,000 is distributed per year. The grant committee is provided with information related to each Chapter's application history, as well as the amount of funding previously provided to each Chapter. Information related to the amount of funding distributed and the projects that were funded is made available to the public by PTPI, via a variety of sources such as print publications, social media, and email newsletters.

Chart 2

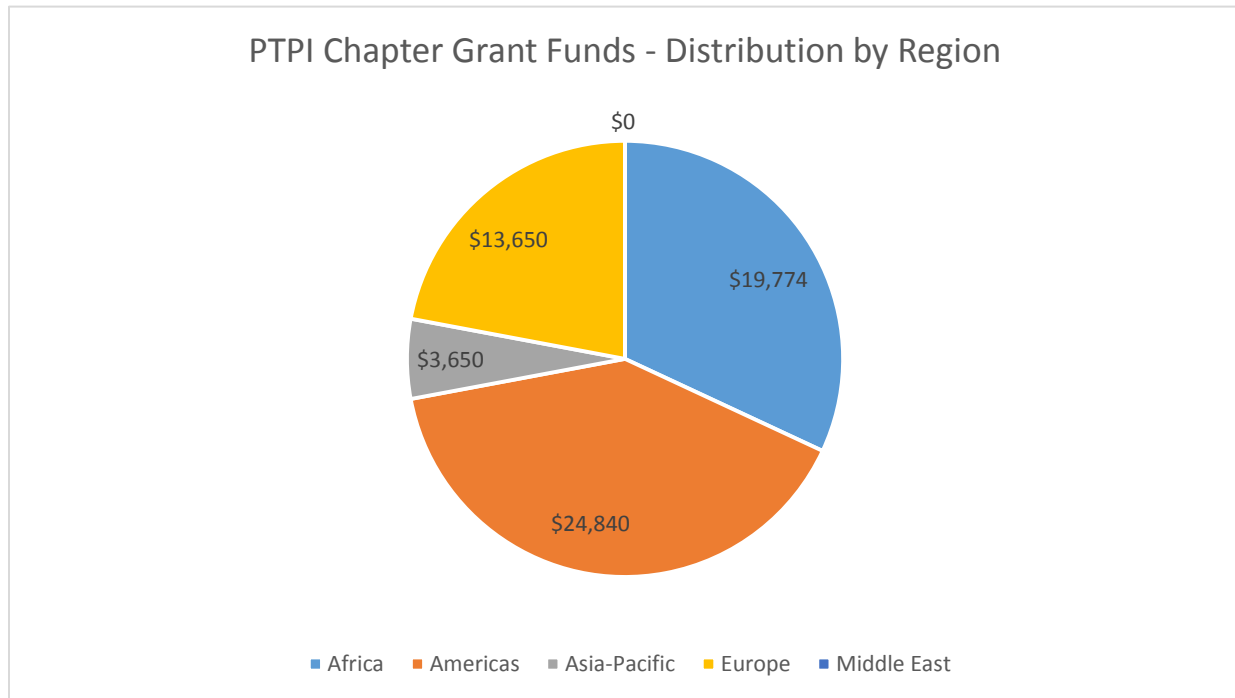


Table 4

PTPI Grant Funding: Amount Provided by Region

	Africa: 27 Applications From the Region	Americas: 37 Applications From the Region	Asia Pacific: 4 Applications From the Region	Europe: 25 Applications From the Region	Middle East: Zero Applications From the Region
Applications Fully Funded	19%	27%	0	16%	n/a
Applications Partially Funded	56%	49%	100%	64%	n/a
Applications Not Funded	26%	24%	0	20%	n/a

Table 5

PTPI Grant Funding: Amount Provided by Type

	Cultural Education/ Understanding	Cultural Exchange	Leadership Development	Humanitarian Aid/Service Provision
Fully Funded	8	4	1	6
Partially Funded	18	5	4	26
Not Funded	4	1	15	1

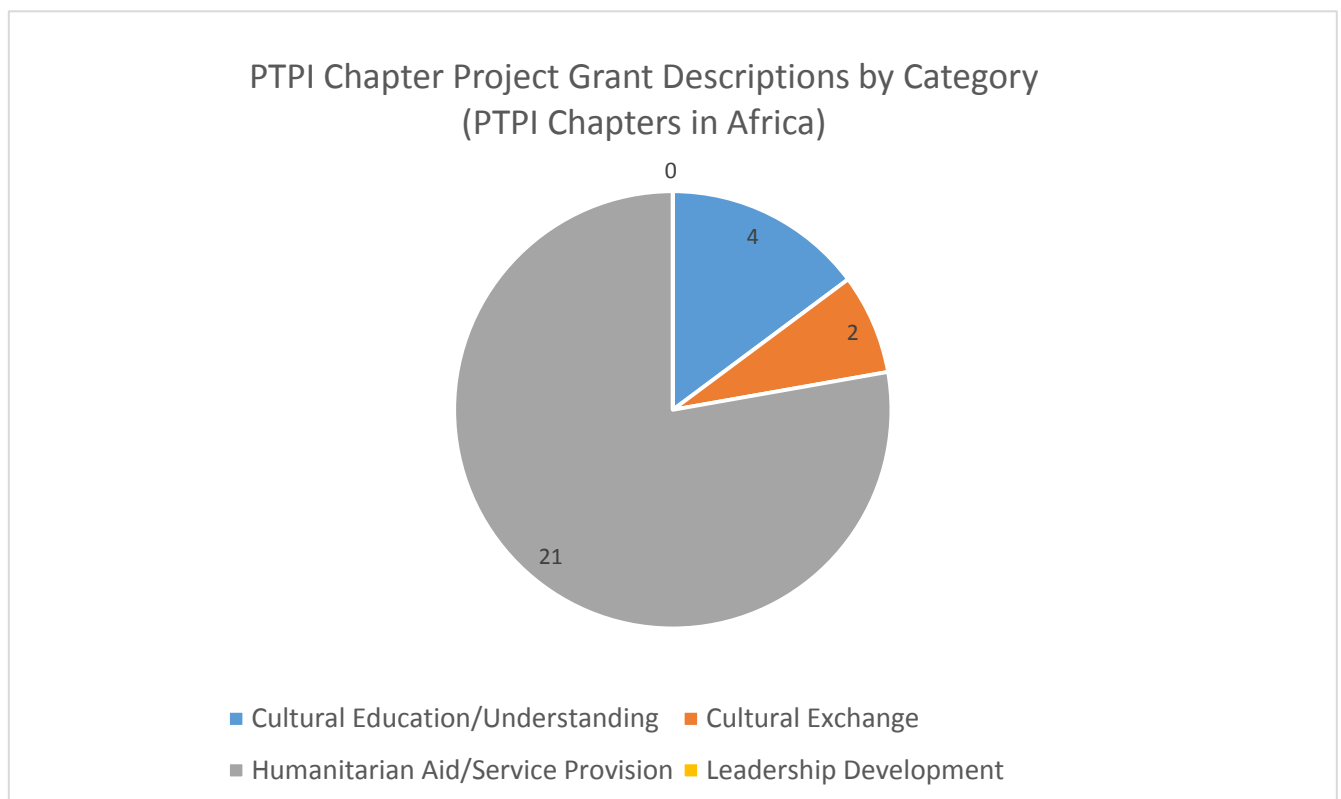
Finally, I used a case study analysis of a select group of applications. The application requires the following: a description of the proposed project, a description of the problem or need the project will address, the activities the Chapter will undertake to implement the project, the expected outcomes and/or impact of the project and how they will be measured, and a description of the ways in which the project will make an impact. The project descriptions for all grant applications received from all PTPI Chapters were placed into four categories: cultural education/understanding, cultural exchange, leadership development, humanitarian aid/service provision. These categories are based on the stated aim of the PTPI Chapter Project Grants and the mission of the organization in general. My intent in classifying the project descriptions was to determine the degree to which PTPI is funding projects that fall somewhat outside of the realm of the mission statement, or in other words, to measure the distance of the projects from the original mission. See Table 6 for a breakdown of the types of project descriptions submitted by all PTPI Chapters, and Chart 3 for a breakdown of the types of project descriptions submitted by PTPI Chapters in Africa.

Table 6

PTPI Grant Applications: Classification Type by Region

	Cultural Education/ Understanding	Cultural Exchange	Leadership Development	Humanitarian Aid/Service Provision
Africa	4	2	0	21
Americas	14	6	0	17
Asia Pacific	1	1	0	2
Europe	12	1	6	6
Middle East	0	0	0	0

Chart 3



Chapter IV: Case Studies

The data referenced above provides an overview of PTPI's presence in Africa, and categorizes the 27 project grant applications that have been submitted by PTPI Chapters in Africa. The following section will detail Chapter-submitted project descriptions from four PTPI Chapters in Africa that have been received since September 2013, and examine whether or not those that receive funding are having an impact on the organization's stated mission.

PTPI's Kigali, Rwanda Student Chapter

Rwanda, a country located in Central/East Africa that was assigned to Germany during colonial times, is classified as a low income economy², which received \$1,081,110,000 in official development assistance in 2013³. Rwanda is perhaps most frequently associated with the civil war between the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups that began in 1990 and resulted in genocide in 1994. As described by the CIA World Fact book, the genocide had a severely negative impact on Rwanda's economy, contributing to the poverty that exists today. The country is rural, and 90% of the population participates in subsistence agriculture (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). However Rwanda has also earned a reputation for becoming a success story within Africa, with President Paul Kagame leading the way to low levels of corruption (however there are criticisms related to high levels of patronage), an existence of safety and order, a "booming" economy, and continued efforts at reconciliation between the Hutus and the Tutsis (Tepperman,

² "For the current 2015 fiscal year, low-income economies are defined as those with a GNI per capita, calculated using the World Bank Atlas method, of \$1,045 or less in 2013; middle-income economies are those with a GNI per capita of more than \$1,045 but less than \$12,746; high-income economies are those with a GNI per capita of \$12,746 or more. Lower-middle-income and upper-middle-income economies are separated at a GNI per capita of \$4,125" (World Bank).

³ "Net official development assistance (ODA) consists of disbursements of loans made on concessional terms (net of repayments of principal) and grants by official agencies of the members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), by multilateral institutions, and by non-DAC countries to promote economic development and welfare in countries and territories in the DAC list of ODA recipients. It includes loans with a grant element of at least 25 percent (calculated at a rate of discount of 10 percent)" (World Bank).

2014). Rwandans spend the last Saturday of each month participating in Umuganda, a national day of service that was implemented by the Rwandan government. The practice was implemented as a way to reconstruct the country, and it has historical roots. Rwandans take part in activities such as cleaning streets, cutting grass, repairing building, or offering free services for those without the means to otherwise access them (Rwanda Governance Board, 2015).

The Kigali, Rwanda Chapter was chartered on 1/15/2008. The Chapter has applied for grant funding twice, and the project descriptions for the two applications submitted are classified as Humanitarian Aid/Service Provision. This Chapter was created by students at a university in Kigali, and the president of the Chapter seems to have been the driving force behind many of the Chapter activities. She submitted both of the Chapter's grant applications and has been the main point of contact for all Chapter-related communication. In an interview conducted in 2011, she was asked which part of her country's history she found most interesting. In response, she said "The 1994 genocide has been like a mark of Rwandan history – if you asked someone about Rwanda, he/she would say 'oh, that country where people killed each other?' So the post-genocidal period is the most interesting to me because it is the period in which if you ask someone about Rwanda, he/she says 'hum, that country that is rapidly developing and where people live peacefully?'" Most recently she communicated to me that she graduated with a degree in architecture and would like to try to sustain the Chapter outside of the university. The Chapter does not frequently send updates or photos related to Chapter activities.

In March 2014, the Chapter submitted an application for a project titled "Sustain Musanze Fields (SMF)." The project location was listed as the Musanze District, in the Northern Province. The application began with a fairly thorough background on the Musanze District, describing its "hilly topography and high population density." The central issue the project aimed

to address was the annual heavy rain, which leads to flooding; erosion; landslides; crop damage; the destruction of water supplies; damage to homes, schools, and clinics; injury to individuals; and overall food insecurity. The Chapter estimated that 2,200 households, or 11,000 people, were affected by the flooding. Farming was listed as the primary occupation of 90% of the population.

To address the problem, the project proposed holding an event during which the community would learn more about the impact of the flooding and hear about various techniques to combat the problem. The Chapter stated that the event would be promoted via radio broadcasts and the distribution of posters and brochures to local secondary schools, and that they would work with local farmers and authorities to locate the flood risk zones where the terrace building and tree planting would take place. Event attendance was listed at 300 people, and attendees would assist with creating terraces and planting 600 trees on various hillsides. The result would be increased crop production leading to food security, the protection of wetlands and biodiversity, and the prevention of further damage to crucial infrastructure. Overall, the population would be “better able to plan for their future.” Total project cost was listed as \$2,200 and the Chapter received a grant in the amount of \$1,000. To date, no grant report has been submitted by the Chapter.

In March 2015, the Chapter applied for a second grant for a project once again centered on farming and conservation. Titled “Nyungwe Forest Neighborhood Conservation,” the project location was listed as Nyamasheke, also in the Musanze District in the Northern Province. The project description noted that agriculture is crucial to the economy of Rwanda, contributing to 36% of the GDP and employing more than 80% of the population. The main problem cited was the fact that local farmers must deal with crop-raiding by animals residing in the nearby Nyungwe National Park. These animals, mainly monkeys and chimpanzees, escape from the

park and cause damage to the vegetables, bananas, cassava, and beans being grown in the area. Conflict between humans and wildlife therefore exists.

The Chapter proposed teaming up with park managers and members of the community to plant eucalyptus and pine trees in order to create a buffer zone between the park and the farmland. To spread awareness, the Chapter planned to use social media, radio and TV broadcasts, and printed materials; and expected to bring together a total of 500 people: 100 local farmers, 50 Chapter members, 15 park managers, 30 local leaders, 5 journalists, and 300 students. As a result, the human-wildlife conflict would be reduced. Farmers could live in harmony with the park experience increased crop productivity, while at the same time the animals would be protected from humans and biodiversity conservation would flourish. This project was not funded.

PTPI's Lome, Togo Community Chapter

Togo is located on the coast of West Africa. The country was under French control during colonial times, and gained independence in 1960. It is classified as Low Income by the World Bank, and received \$ 220,530,000 in official development assistance in 2013 (The World Bank, 2015). It served as a location from which slaves were shipped abroad in the 17th century, and most recently it has been the subject of criticism over human rights abuses, which have mainly been politically-related (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). The country was ruled for nearly four decades by Gnassingbe Eyadema, who took power in a military coup in 1967. His son took power after his death in 2005, and currently remains in the office of President. Togo is not frequently mentioned in global media, and the travel guide Lonely Planet notes that it is a great destination “for those fond of traveling off the beaten track.” It also mentions that Togo is extremely ethnically diverse (Lonely Planet, 2015).

The Lomé, Togo Chapter was chartered on November 10, 2009. The Chapter has applied for grant funding four times, for three projects classified as Humanitarian Aid/Service Provision and one classified as Cultural Exchange. One individual in particular, the founder and president of the Chapter, has been the driving force behind the continuation of the chapter and the activities it undertakes. He has officially registered the Chapter as an NGO with government authorities. PTPI has a program that pairs Chapters in different countries, and this Chapter was paired with PTPI's Los Angeles, CA Chapter. In an oral conversation in January, 2015, the president of the Los Angeles Chapter told me about the visit he made to Togo in the summer of 2014, where he was hosted by the president and other members of the Lomé Chapter. He described the Lomé Chapter president as extremely dedicated to service, to the extent of extreme self-sacrifice. He also explained how he learned that the Chapter had created an apprenticeship program of sorts, in which individuals interested in being a part of the Lomé Chapter must undergo a trial year before being permitted full membership. The Lomé Chapter president has participated in several exchanges with PTPI Chapters in Korea, both traveling there for hosted stays as well as hosting visitors in Togo. This led to a collaboration in which a member of a Korean Chapter shipped a donation of \$35,000 worth of water purifiers to Togo for distribution in a rural community. Plans are underway to coordinate additional donations, working with other PTPI Chapters in West Africa. The Chapter president is extremely diligent in communication with PTPI, sending regular updates and photos of Chapter activities. The PTPI banner is prominently displayed in nearly every photo.

The first grant application submitted by the Chapter was for a Humanitarian Aid/Service Provision project the Chapter had previously been working on, which was described as laying cement blocks around two classroom structures at the local Amadenta Public Primary School.

The structures had collapsed, and the Chapter stated that they wished to create a “normal” classroom space for the school. The project description observed that the learning environment was a hindrance to academic performance, calling the structures “deplorable.” It also mentioned that the Chapter members were serving in a volunteer capacity and would be monitoring the project, keeping records, and assuring quality of work. The project budget was listed as \$2,300 and the Chapter received a grant in the amount of \$2,000. A grant report and photos featuring the PTPI logo were submitted to PTPI as soon as the project was completed.

In March 2014, the Chapter applied for another project classified as Humanitarian Aid/Service Provision. It was described as an effort to support the burn unit at the community hospital and to provide relief to patients who suffer in the heat due to lack of fans. The Chapter planned to purchase 20 fans, then to volunteer their time cleaning and make a donation of cleaning supplies such as dustbins, detergents, and disinfectants since those items were lacking at the hospital. Expected outcomes listed included contributing to the healing process of burn victims at the hospital. The project budget was \$2,625 and PTPI provided a grant in the amount of \$1,000. Again, a grant report and photos with the PTPI logo were submitted upon project completion.

The third application was submitted in September 2014, and it is classified under Cultural Exchange, as it was a project described as an international cultural exchange forum that would bring together delegates (some of them members of other PTPI Chapters) from Togo, Ghana, Benin, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Niger, Cote D’Ivoire, and Mali for two days of dialogue and exchange. The event, which was to be held in Lome, Togo, was designed to promote peace and understanding within the region of West Africa, and the central theme was the role that culture can play in building peace within communities, regions, and countries. Additionally, participants

would be expected to act as ambassadors upon their return home, and to continue communicating with the other delegates. The total budget was \$4,055 and the Chapter requested \$2,300, which was granted in full. A grant report, photos, and a link to media coverage were sent to PTPI after the forum took place. PTPI also received a report from a member of the Porto Novo, Benin Chapter who attended the forum.

In March 2015, the Chapter applied for a fourth grant, for a project classified as Humanitarian Aid/Service Provision. Titled “Peace Through Agriculture,” the project intended to address issues related to food security, and would do so by working to plant crops such as maize, yams, and cassava in order to have a supply of food to donate to orphanages, the elderly, and those in need who lack the resources to provide for themselves. An additional component of the project was described as providing education related to the need for producing more crops to ensure food security. The Chapter planned to rent land, volunteer their time to plant and cultivate crops, and also organize community activities such as football matches and peace campaigns. The budget was listed as \$4,648 and the grant amount requested was \$2,254. PTPI provided a grant of \$1,000. No report or photos have been submitted to date.

PTPI’s Kumasi, Ghana Student Chapter

Situated to the west of Togo on the West African coast is Ghana, the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence. Kwame Nkrumah, who became Prime Minister of what was then called the Gold Coast in 1951, declared Ghana’s independence from Great Britain in 1957 and became president after Ghana became a republic in 1960. He was an advocate of Pan-Africanism, a movement grounded in the belief that individuals of African descent should join together in solidarity. Ghana is known for its abundance of mineral resources such as cocoa, gold, and oil, and it is generally viewed as one of the most successful countries in Africa due to

both its economic reforms as well as its political reforms and success at maintaining a stable democracy. Additionally, it plays a major role in regional peace-keeping, having deployed troops in Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and DR Congo (BBC News, 2014). Recently, however, Ghana's economic growth has slowed and Ghana requested \$918 million from International Monetary Fund in April 2015 to assist with debt repayment and stabilization of the country's economy (Bloomberg Business, 2015). The World Bank classifies Ghana as Lower Middle Income⁴, and Ghana received 1,330,510,000 in official development assistance in 2013.

The Kumasi, Ghana Chapter was chartered on September 15, 2009. It has applied for grant funding three times, for an ongoing project classified as Humanitarian Aid/Service Provision. Like the Kigali, Rwanda Chapter, the Chapter in Kumasi is affiliated with a local university. The members are university students (although some have graduated) and the president and several other Chapter officers are in frequent communication with PTPI. As such, I have exchanged several emails with the Chapter's campus advisor regarding his application for a scholarship to attend a PTPI conference in the United States in May 2015, and his application for an internship with the organization. He is finishing his master's degree and has stated that he plans to work full-time for PTPI upon completion of the degree. We have also had conversations about the possibility of the Chapter hosting a future PTPI conference in their city. I also receive frequent messages from the Chapter president, both via email and Facebook. His messages frequently focus on his future plans for Chapter activities; in March 2015 he sent photos and messages via Facebook relating his visit to a rural village that lacks adequate access to clean water. He said his "dream project" is to install pipes to supply water, and that he knew that "with

⁴ "For the current 2015 fiscal year, low-income economies are defined as those with a GNI per capita, calculated using the World Bank Atlas method, of \$1,045 or less in 2013; middle-income economies are those with a GNI per capita of more than \$1,045 but less than \$12,746; high-income economies are those with a GNI per capita of \$12,746 or more. Lower-middle-income and upper-middle-income economies are separated at a GNI per capita of \$4,125" (World Bank, 2015).

the help of PTPI” he and other Chapter members could help the people. The Chapter has applied for official recognition as an NGO by the government.

The Chapter submitted an application in March 2013 for a project they had already started, which they titled the “Information and Communications Technology (ICT) for Pupil Project.” The goal of the project was to purchase computers and other ICT-related equipment for the Aprumase Primary School in their community, and to teach the students how to use the equipment, emphasizing the way in which computer skills could facilitate their studies. The Chapter observed the need for ICT knowledge in the modern world, and mentioned that Ghana is a developing country where students are behind in that arena. One of the goals of the project was to cultivate an interest in the area of computer skills, so that the students would develop an interest in continuing to develop their skills when they progress to high school and university. The application noted that Chapter members would voluntarily provide training to the students during their personal free time, and that the project was designed to be completed in phases over a period of three years. Total project cost was listed as \$11,235. After discussing (via email) the plan for phasing out the project with the Chapter, PTPI provided a grant in the amount of \$500. A grant report and several photos were submitted, and the Chapter included the PTPI banner in all of the photos.

In September 2014, the Chapter submitted a second application for funding for this project. In the second application, the Chapter described the project as the rehabilitation of the ICT Lab at Christ Our Hope International School, involving the donation of desktop computers and the provision of voluntary ICT training for students. This application mentioned that the government of Ghana had added an ICT examination to the Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) that all students are required to pass in order to attend secondary school.

The Chapter remarked that the students at the school were only learning theory and that very few had ever seen or touched a computer. Additionally, the Chapter noted that members were contributing personal donations to assist in achieving the project goal. The Chapter requested \$2,472 and was granted the full amount. A grant report was submitted, along with photos featuring the PTPI banner.

A third grant application was submitted by the Chapter in March 2015, and noted that this was for the final phase of the project. In this application, the description mentioned adopting a school, providing ICT equipment, and volunteering time to teach the students how to use the computers. The ICT exams required by the government were noted once again, however in this application the Chapter stated that the exams were introduced despite the fact that schools in Ghana had no time to prepare or acquire the necessary equipment. Therefore, the Chapter decided to help students gain the skills needed to pass their exams. The application also stated that Chapter members would personally supplement the project if the funding provided by PTPI did not meet the requested amount. Within the budget, the Chapter listed “incentives for volunteer tutors.” PTPI provided a grant in the amount of \$500 and stated that they were unsure about the need for incentives for volunteer tutors. To date, a grant report has not been received.

PTPI’s Monrovia, Liberia Community Chapter

Liberia is also located West African coast, situated between Cote d’Ivoire and Sierra Leone. It has a unique background, in that it was settled by freed slaves. Arriving from the US in 1822, the emigrants established a republic in 1847. The economy of Liberia was damaged by civil war and government mismanagement in the 1990s and early 2000s; in 2006 the fighting had ceased and a democratically elected government was in place. The economy began to rebound in 2010-2013, however the recent outbreak of the Ebola virus has had a damaging effect as

businesses left the country and the government was compelled to dedicate its minimal amount of resources to try and stop the spread of the virus (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). Liberia is classified as Low Income by the World Bank, and received 534,220,000 in official development assistance in 2013.

The Monrovia, Liberia Chapter was chartered on May 1, 2013. I receive frequent communication from the Chapter president, via email. Additionally, the Chapter treasurer provided content and a video for a PTPI Blog series focused on cultural cooking. The Chapter president has inquired about contacting other members of PTPI's network for assistance in launching a fashion design business. Recently he has taken the steps necessary to officially register the Chapter with the government, which required setting up an official office. During the height of the Ebola epidemic, I asked the Chapter president to provide his perspective on how the virus was affecting the Chapter and their surrounding community.

In September 2014, the Chapter submitted an application for a project classified as Cultural Education/Understanding. The project was described as a high school basketball tournament, and the project was called "PTPI Peace Jam." The event would bring together eight high school teams. Teams that reached the finals would receive jerseys printed with the words PTPI Peace Jam, and those teams' school administrators would receive polo shirts with the same words. According to the application, these shirts would raise awareness of the mission of PTPI within the high schools and the community, and the intended beneficiaries were described as a good target audience for the creation of PTPI Student Chapters that would pave the way for increased unity among the high schools. This project was not funded.

In March 2015, the Chapter received funding for a project titled "PTPI Monrovia, Liberia Chapter Ebola Relief Distribution" that was to take place in Paynesville, Liberia. Immediately,

the project description noted that though the Chapter had seen the Liberian government respond well to the crisis, raising awareness throughout the nation. It went on to say that the Chapter's goal was to help disseminate materials related to the virus to less privileged communities, where stress levels have risen among populations where children were orphaned or survivors were stigmatized, causing discrimination leading to a sense of hopelessness. The Paynesville District was specifically mentioned, because of its proximity to the Chapter members. To implement the project, Chapter members would conduct a survey of houses within five underprivileged in the Paynesville district that were not provided with preventative materials, that were providing shelter for children whose parents had died as a result of the epidemic, those where survivors were residing, and those where families who had completed quarantine were living. In addition, the application stated that they would invite news media to record their efforts, in order to demonstrate that the Chapter is a "vibrant NGO" and to encourage others to take part in Chapter activities. A total of 75 heads-of-family would be impacted. The project budget was listed as \$2,490, and the Chapter requested \$2,500. PTPI provided a grant of \$2,000. No grant report has been submitted to date.

Chapter V: Analysis and Discussion

The case studies examined illuminate many interesting points. To review the criticisms of CSOs noted previously in this paper, they include foreign donor dependence and resulting influence on the agenda of PTPI Chapters; lack of accountability on the part of foreign donor agencies to the communities with which they work; CSOs becoming a potential source of profit and thereby subverting the intended goal of the CSO. Another point mentioned was a growth in African CSOs focused on social issues that are not being addressed by the state. The fact that PTPI is repeatedly providing funding shows that Chapters in Africa are capable of defining their own agenda and successfully finding a way to achieve their goals. PTPI is not defining the scope of humanitarian work that will be carried out, nor is the organization dictating how projects should be carried out.

The case of the Monrovia, Liberia Chapter could serve as an example of foreign influence on CSO agenda. The Chapter first submitted an application for a project related to basketball that was not funded. The second application was for a project related to the Ebola epidemic, which the Chapter surely knew would be hard to turn down. This is a clear example of a shifting of project goals away from the Chapter members' initial interests to one that addressed an issue that was taking up major space in global headlines and became a focal point for foreign donors. Yet this is also a clear example of the use of power as the Monrovia Chapter members were likely aware that a project related to Ebola would be hard to refuse funding for, despite the fact that it is not directly related to the stated mission of the organization.

PTPI consistently demonstrates a willingness to fund similar projects that fall outside the realm of the mission statement. The organization's vision statement allows for a relatively broad interpretation: that "a cross-cultural network of engaged and knowledgeable everyday citizen

leaders will be an active force in creating and sustaining a more peaceful world.” However, it is significantly notable that the project applications from Africa are more heavily focused on Humanitarian Aid/Service Provision than the other regions. As the example from the Kigali, Rwanda Chapter also shows, mission interpretation is definitely being stretched to an extremely broad point. Their projects to combat the effects of heavy rainfall and crop-raiding, and work to educate the community on how to best prevent future negative impact from similar events more reasonably falls into a category such as ecological conservation rather than the enhancement of international understanding that President Eisenhower had in mind when forming PTPI, yet one received funding. The reason the second project was not funded is likely related to the fact that the chapter did not provide a report on the results of the first grant. This can be viewed as a clear example of agency wielded by Chapters in the Global South in that they are causing the organization to make funding decisions that take it in a different direction from its stated mission and vision. Out of the case studies examined, only one was classified as Cultural Exchange. The rest were Humanitarian Aid/Service Provision.

That fact reinforces the view that CSO growth in Africa is taking place outside of the political realm and focusing on social issues not being addressed by the state. The Lome, Togo Chapter submitted four applications. Three of those four focused on humanitarian projects, and the third on cultural exchange. The projects focused on people, and on improving their circumstances: first at a school, where the Chapter repaired the damage from a storm using sturdier materials so that the same problem would not occur in the future; second at a hospital, where they provided sanitization supplies and fans for those recuperating in the burn unit; and third, purchasing land and growing crops that would later be donated to individuals in need in the community. (The fourth project was a cultural exchange forum for individuals from neighboring

countries in West Africa designed to begin a dialogue on regional issues and how to address them.) The Kumasi, Ghana Chapter remained focused on the same project each of the three times they applied for grant funding, continuing to make improvements related to Information and Communication Technology (ICT) resources in a local school. These examples can be seen as a growth in levels of agency in the Global South, in that citizens are finding their own solutions to issues they feel are preventing the advancement of society within their communities. At the same time, however, these examples also serve as evidence that there is still a large level of dependence on funding from the Global North as the Chapters have submitted multiple grant applications in order to complete the projects.

Additionally, both the Kumasi, Ghana Chapter and the Lome, Togo Chapter have been extremely diligent about submitting reports on their activities. They provide a great amount of detail about the impact of the projects, the number of beneficiaries, and also send photos of all stages of the projects. The photos feature the beneficiaries, the chapter members, equipment purchased and used, etc., and the PTPI banner and logo is always prominently displayed. This demonstrates a high level of agency in terms of knowing what will attract donors.

As for the criticism related to CSOs becoming potential sources of profit, PTPI's lack of resources for in-person project follow up and lack field staff to verify reporting prevent this topic from being sufficiently explored. Submitted grant reports and accompanying photos are the only measures currently used to verify that the projects were completed as outlined and that budgets were adhered to as presented. This obviously leaves room for the possibility of profit being gained, however it has not been judged a significant enough barrier for PTPI to cease grant distribution.

Chapter VI: Conclusion

A review of the case studies above indicates that PTPI Chapters in the Global South are to a fairly high degree dictating the agenda of PTPI in the way that they are causing PTPI to provide funding for their needs. They are noble and important causes, yet they are quite outside the realm of the original stated intention of mission as established by the organization in 1956. As PTPI funds these projects and shares them with their global network, they are giving a voice to the Global South and permitting the Global South to exercise agency, perhaps unwittingly or without conscious realization. Yet in this way, PTPI Chapters in Sub-Saharan Africa are exercising a great deal of power, and it can be observed in a number of different ways.

First, PTPI is directing a disproportionate level of funding to a region that has the second-fewest number of PTPI Chapters. In total, during the period in focus, 29% of grant funding was distributed to PTPI Chapters in Africa, yet the region has only 13 Chapters out of the entire network of 273 Chapters. Clearly, the Global South-based African Chapters are demonstrating their power in that they are claiming a significant portion of PTPI's funding resources. Granted, they may be applying for grants at a higher proportion than other chapters, however that only serves to support the fact that they do indeed possess the capacity to seek out and effectively obtain the resources that they need.

Second, the funding that PTPI is directing to Africa are for projects that are mainly focused on Humanitarian Aid/Service Provision. To compare, 78% of the grant applications from Africa were focused on Humanitarian Aid/Service Provision. In the other regions, the percentages are as follows: Americas, 46%; Asia Pacific, 50%, and Europe, 24%. To a degree this shows that the concept of the Global North coming to the aid of the Global South may be alive and well, yet the fact that the percentage in Africa is so much higher and they are still

receiving funding is without a doubt an example of agency in terms of causing mission shift. It is interesting to note that PTPI is providing full funding in the majority of cases for projects that are classified as Cultural Understanding/Education, which is directly in line with its mission.

However, it is providing nearly equally amounts of full funding for projects classified as Humanitarian Aid/Service Provision. It will be interesting to see if those numbers remain steady or change in the future. Also, while Europe does not demonstrate a significant focus on Humanitarian Aid/Service Provision projects, the Americas do. This could be an indication of the most prevalent issues in those regions, or the particular interests of those chapters' members. If that is the case, then perhaps using the term mission shift is erroneous, and the percentages reflect PTPI's desire to assist Chapters in tackling the issues that are most relevant to them.

Third, it is evident that PTPI Chapters in Africa are fully capable of determining and defining the needs that exist in their communities on their own, as they see them, not as PTPI – an outside yet related organization in the Global North determines and defines them. PTPI does not impose restrictions on what chapters focus on within their communities, and the PTPI Chapters in Africa are taking advantage of that, and thereby demonstrating their agency. They are writing their own project proposals and successfully receiving the funding needed to carry out what they believe is the best solution to the problems they have outlined.

Fourth, as previously noted, Chapters in Africa are adept at providing reports and photos that serve to assist the organization as a whole in touting its global impact and encouraging continued and future donors to support these ongoing projects and those that will be proposed in the future. It is an incredible display of savviness to ensure that detailed project reports and a plethora of photos featuring the PTPI logo are supplied to the organizational headquarters. While some may classify this as manipulation of the CSO in the Global North, it is perhaps more

accurate to consider this another demonstration of agency: it illustrates a powerful ability to understand a world that wants to see results, see beneficiaries, and feel confident that donations are being used as intended.

On the other hand, if PTPI chooses not to provide funding to Chapters in Africa, one could argue that the Global North does retain the power, in that Chapters may then design projects that they believe will receive a positive response. Additionally, the projects described in this thesis have not demonstrated any discernible advancement in self-reliance, meaning the Chapters involved would be unable (*sans* agency) to achieve their aims without the assistance of a Global North funder. Additionally, the data related to the amount of funding provided to each chapter (full, partial, or none) does not indicate that Africa is in any way receiving a disproportionate amount of available grant funds. The data indicates that PTPI is distributing funding in a generally equal way across the regions.

As PTPI continues to provide funding for projects that stretch the boundaries of the stated organizational mission, they are in essence actually bending to the will of the voices of their Chapters in the Global South. Perhaps this is because PTPI, like any number of CSOs reliant on outside support, is attempting to identify a population that will generate the most profitable response from its donor base. It remains to be seen whether or not similar organizations exhibit similar trends; whether there is evidence of a shifting of the balance of power. Conversations surrounding that topic do not seem to be widely prevalent, yet it is an important question as it has an impact on the prevailing stereotypes related to the Global South. As the conversation surrounding CSOs based in the Global North continues, it would be wise to stay attuned to the subtleties of how the relationships truly play out, and then perhaps the story (and the songs) will

begin to change and a more accurate and realistic mindset concerning the relationship between the Global North and Global South will emerge.

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Appendix A: Permission to Use Data



People to People International World Headquarters

2405 Grand Boulevard, Suite 500, Kansas City, Missouri USA | 816.531.4701 | ptpi@ptpi.org | www.ptpi.org

Peace through Understanding

MEMORANDUM

DATE: June 2, 2015
TO: Elizabeth Wegman
FROM: Bill Bland, Interim CEO, People to People International
816.531.4701 | billbland@ptpi.org
RE: PERMISSION FOR USE OF DATA

You have requested permission to use, analyze, and cite data related to People to People International (PTPI) Chapter Grants that has been submitted to you by members of the organization who have applied for these grants. You have also requested to use historical and current data pertaining to PTPI's global chapter presence. It is understood that you will also use data related to PTPI's current and past chapter presence. I am pleased to authorize you to use this material for the purpose of writing your thesis for the University of Kansas Global and International Studies Graduate Program. You may use the name of the chapter, excerpts from their grant applications, list the amount both requested and granted, and may cite numbers and locations of PTPI chapters and members.

Bill Bland
Interim CEO, People to People International

Appendix B: PTPI Chapter Grant Application



PTPI CHAPTER PROJECT GRANT APPLICATION

WHAT IS A CHAPTER PROJECT GRANT?

Chapter Project Grants support cultural, educational, and humanitarian projects that exemplify the mission of People to People International (PTPI).

WHO CAN APPLY?

Chapters that:

- Show a successful track record of chapter projects
- Are chartered for at least one year
- Are in good standing

SELECTION PROCESS

The highest consideration will be given to projects that:

- Benefit a community
- Are based on community needs
- Are designed to make a large and sustainable impact
- Exemplify the mission of PTPI

GRANT REQUIREMENTS

- Review [Grant Guide](#)
- Provide updates on a periodic basis
- Submit a Final Report

FUNDING LIMITS

PTPI will provide grants of up to USD \$2,500. Awarding of grants is not automatic and funding is limited. PTPI has the right to withhold any and all funds to recipients if grant requirements are not met.

WHEN TO APPLY

Grants are awarded twice per year and applications are due February 1 and/or August 1. Incomplete and/or late applications will not be considered. All applicants will be notified within 30 days of the application deadline and funds will be distributed in March and September. Chapters may apply for and receive more than one grant in a year. Preference will be given to chapters that have not received a grant within the calendar year.

Submit Application:
chapters@ptpi.org

This grant is provided through funding from the Hall Family Foundation.



PTPI CHAPTER PROJECT GRANT APPLICATION

Chapter Name _____

PRIMARY CONTACTS

List the primary contacts who will be leading the implementation of the grant.

Community Chapters

Chapter President _____ Chapter Member _____

University & Student Chapters

Advisor _____ Chapter Officer _____

List any PTPI funding your chapter received in the last three years:

PROJECT LOCATION

List multiple locations, if applicable.

Project Site _____ City/Village _____

State/Province _____ Country _____

PROJECT INFORMATION

Project Name _____ ☐ New Project ☐ Existing Project

Which focus area(s) does your project address? ☐ Experience ☐ Learn ☐ Lead ☐ Connect ☐ Serve

Date or timeframe of the project:

Submit Application:
chapters@ptpi.org

This grant is provided through funding from the Hall Family Foundation.



PTPI CHAPTER PROJECT GRANT APPLICATION

Describe the project:

Describe the problem or need the project will address, including the intended beneficiaries and how the project will benefit the community in need:

Describe the specific activities chapter members will do to implement the project:

Describe the expected outcomes and/or impact of the project and how this will be measured:

In what ways will the project make a large and sustainable impact?

Submit Application:
chapters@ptpi.org

This grant is provided through funding from the Hall Family Foundation.



PTPI CHAPTER PROJECT GRANT APPLICATION

For information on how to complete this page, please review page seven of the Chapter Project Grant Guide.

PROJECT BUDGET

Please list your expected project expenses.

Expense Items	Amount (local currency)
example: printing costs	US \$32.51
example: transportation	US \$100
<i>Subtotal</i>	

Exchange Rate Used

Total in US Dollars

PROJECT FINANCING

Please list all your sources of funding for this project including the requested grant amount.

Funding Sources	Amount (local currency)
example: Chapter treasury	US \$250.00
Requested Grant Amount	
<i>Subtotal</i>	

Exchange Rate Used

Total in US Dollars

Submit Application:
chapters@ptpi.org

This grant is provided through funding from the Hall Family Foundation.



PTPI CHAPTER PROJECT GRANT APPLICATION

Authorizations

- All information contained in this application is, to the best of our knowledge, true and accurate, and we intend to implement the project as presented in this application.
- The chapter agrees to use the grant funds to undertake the proposed project only.
- We ensure all cash contributions (as detailed in the Project Financing section) will be forwarded to the chapter.
- PTPI may use information contained in this application in promotional materials.
- The entire responsibility of PTPI is expressly limited to the dollar amounts approved based on the application's budget. Additional costs due to changes in budget items, airfares, currency devaluations, etc., are the responsibility of the chapter.
- Neither we nor any person with whom we have or had a personal or business relationship is engaged, or intends to engage, in benefiting from PTPI grant funds or has any interest that may represent a potential competing or conflicting interest.

By signing below, we agree to the above authorizations and certify that to the best of our knowledge and ability this grant application is complete and meets all PTPI guidelines and criteria.

Primary Contact 1 Name

Signature

Primary Contact 2 Name

Signature

Submit Application:
chapters@ptpi.org

This grant is provided through funding from the Hall Family Foundation.